1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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CHAPTER 6

"THE THREE RELIGIONS"

(2) *The Gods*

776 779 796 FOR the Min Chia peasantry Buddhism means the worship of the greater Buddhist Boddhisatvas, who are thought of as gods, but gods with a specialised function. Kuan Yin for example is the Goddess of Mercy, the patron of women and mothers, and of fishermen. Yen Wang, the King of the Underworld, is worshipped and propitiated to secure the release of souls from hell. In practice all the other Boddhisavtas such as Manjusri and also Amida Buddha and Maitreya, the Buddha to come, have no separate temples of their own, but are accomodated in a shrine in the Kuan Yin temples. To the Min Chia to-day Buddhism is really nothing more than the cult of Kuan Yin, for this Boddhisatva has acquired an importance which completely overshadows Amida Buddha himself. Thus the only great festival which is specifically Buddhist is in honour of Kuan Yin at her temple south of the city on the 19th of the 2nd Month, a date corresponding approximately to the 31st of March.

346 779 This temple is a large building, or rather series of buildings round linked courtyards, entirely Chinese in style and decoration, and, though the site is old, the existing temple is quite modern. It was rebuilt about fifty years ago to replace the old one burned down by the Moslem rebels in the '70's. Since the great Buddhist monastery which once surrounded the Three Pagodas outside the North Gate shared the same fate, but has never been rebuilt, the Kuan Yin T'ang to the south of the city has become the principal

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(2) THE GODS

Buddhist temple in the district. Outside the temple gates there is a small village which takes its name, Kuan Yin T'ang, from the temple itself, and across the open space beyond the gate there is a large stage with dressing rooms for the performance of theatricals. The performances given here are watched by the crowd assembled in this market square, and are free, as an inducement to visitors to come to the temple festival. Almost every temple of any size has such a stage with an open air auditorium.

Attracted in part by the chance to see a play free, very great crowds attend this festival of Kuan Yin. From early in the morning the road from the city is densely crowded with holiday makers who can refresh themselves, as they walk the four miles to the temple, with fruit and cakes sold by numerous hawkers along the roadside. At the temple village the scene is one of great activity. The usual restaurants and teahouses, which on ordinary days do a small business with travellers, are packed to overflowing, the street encumbered with stalls selling food, incense sticks, and children's toys. In the gate of the temple itself the monks are fully occupied selling incense sticks, charms and paper "spirit" money to burn at the shrines. To the greater part of the crowd the occasion is just a holiday, or an opportunity to do business, and see the play. Particularly is this so for the men, for though many go into the temple to see the scene, very few worship.

On the other hand most of the women have come primarily for the religious aspect of the day, and it is they who buy the incense sticks and the spirit money. Before every shrine in the temple precincts a large fire of incense sticks is kept burning by the offerings of these faithful worshippers, who visit each in turn. The act of worship is in each case the same. The devotees *k'e t'ou* before the shrine, throw a cash or two on to the embroidered cloth spread

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of Erh Hai lake, in the small village called Der Ser Mo by the Min Chia, and, after the temple, Lung Wang Miao by the Chinese. The old buildings were wrecked by the great earthquake of 1925, but have been partially rebuilt. The great hall of the temple and a detached pavilion built on an artificial island connected with the shore by a bridge are all that are now standing. This temple differs from any Buddhist or Taoist shrine by having no image of the deity. Instead there is a large lacquered tablet on the altar inscribed with the name and title of Lur Wa, and behind the altar a rather fine mural painting of the Dragon emerging from dense rolling rain clouds. In the courtyard before this hall, still encumbered by the ruins of old buildings, and on the open space between the temple and the shore, crowds of worshippers, as usual mainly women, perform the accustomed rites of prostration and incense burning. As at the Kuan Yin temple, hawkers sell incense and spirit money, while the societies of women abstainers chant their endless repetition of the name of the god before improvised altars. The island pavilion is thronged with worshippers who are busy releasing fish and eels and scattering rice on the water. This custom, called in Chinese "*fang shêng*" "to release life", has no doubt been borrowed from Buddhism. Its purpose is to acquire merit by saving the lives of creatures in danger of death, in accordance with the Buddhist prohibition against the killing of any living creature. As interpreted here it is supposed to be pleasing to the Dragon King, the lord of the lake and all that is in it, who will thus be more disposed to spare the lives of fishermen who, for the rest of the year are engaged not in releasing fish, but in catching them.

In practice, as everyone knows quite well, the fisher folk have been exceptionally busy for several days catching and preserving alive the fish and eels which they sell to the worshippers on the day of the festival. The fact that here

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292
535
796

Dancers at the Gwer
Sa La festival.

Village temple to Ku'ei Hsing.

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[Face p. 124]

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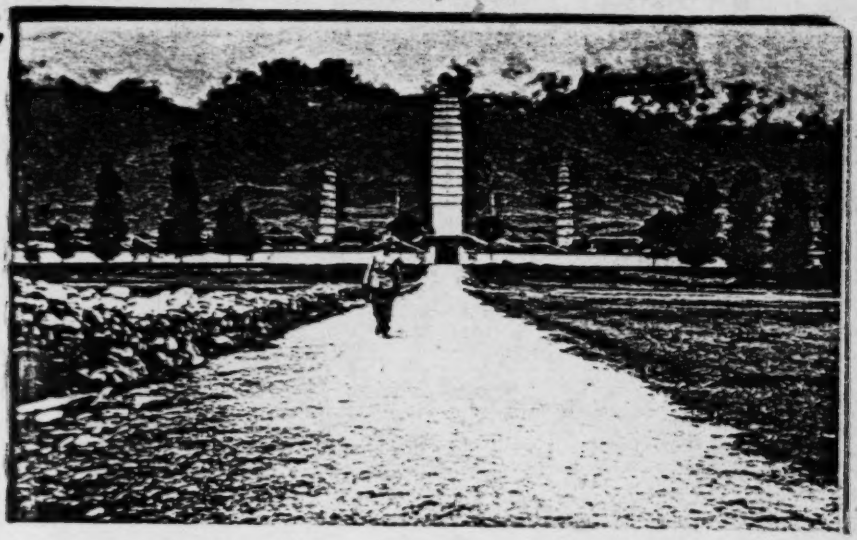

The Three Pagodas at the foot of Ts'ang Shan. (Seventh century.)

The Hsi Ma T'ang tarn under the crest of Ts'ang Shan. (14,000 ft.)

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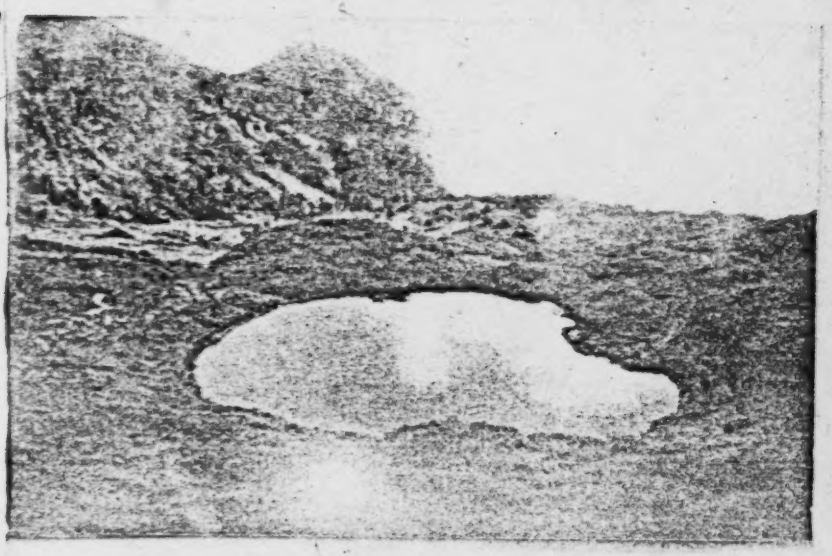

[Face p. 184]

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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of the Na-khi tribe. The ceremonies of the Zhĕr-khin tribe have already been described.

The Zhĕr-khin tribe live in four villages in the Yung-ning district as follows: the village of Yu-mi with 13 families, Shu-dtü with seven families, Bpo-lo with 18 families, and Zo-wùa with eight families; these live on the eastern bank of the Zho Chhu (Shu gyi) in Yung-ning. In Mu-li territory, Hsi-k'ang, also on the same bank of the Zho Chhu are the following Zhĕr-khin villages: Gya-pu, Dze-ngu and Dshe-pu. The Zhĕr-khin have Dto-mbas like the Li-chiang Na-khi. I suspect that the Shu-khin tribe from farther up the Zho Chhu is related to the Zhĕr-khin, although the Shu-khin language resembles more the dialect of the Gangkar-ling (Gangs-dkar-gling) or Garo Tibetans who are their neighbors. The Li-chiang Na-khi, the Nda-pa of Yung-ning, and the Zhĕr-khin received their religious teaching from Dto-mba Shi-lo whom they variously call Dto-mba Shi-lo, Dtü-mba Shi-lo, or To-mba She-ra. He is none other than the founder of the Bön sect, Tön-pa Shen-rab-mi-po (sTon-pa Shgen-rabs-mi-po).[2]

The Yung-ning Lamasery. — The chief religion of Yung-ning as already remarked is Lamaism or Tibetan Buddhism, and is practised mainly on the Yung-ning plain. A fairly large and well preserved lama temple stands at its northern end facing Lion Mountain[3] (PLATES 224, 225, 226, 227). Back of the lamasery and in the same compound, is the official residence of the Abbot or K'an-pu 堪佈 [from the Tibetan mKhan-po] and that of the General Superintendent of Yung-ning (Tsung-kuan 總管), a position held by the late A Yün-shan 阿雲山.

The only other building of interest, besides the main temple, in the Yung-ning lamasery compound, is the Temple of the coming Buddha called Byams-pa (pronounced Jampa or Champa), the Maitreya or Loving One, the Messiah of the Buddhists. Nearly all larger lamaseries possess monster images of the coming Buddha, either made of gilt copper or gilded clay. Yung-ning possesses an image of the latter type. The coming Buddha is

[2] རྒྱལ་དབང་ཀུན་བཟང་།

[3] The Yung-ning Lamasery is known in the Hli-khin language as Djra-mi-gko. A lama incarnation once came to Yung-ning and inquired as to the name of the place where the lamasery now stands. When he was told that the name of the place was Djra-mi-gko he exclaimed, "What a good place to build a lamasery," for he interpreted the name in Tibetan to mean "no fighting" (from dgra-mi-dgos = enemy unnecessary). A lamasery was then erected which is known to this day as Djra-mi-gko. Its Tibetan name is Thar-lam ga-den thup-ten de-kyi ling (Thar-lam dgah-ldan Thub-bstan bde-bskyid gling ཐར་ལམ་དགའ་ལྡན་ཐུབ་བསྟན་བདེ་སྐྱིད་གླིང་). The name Djra-mi-gko may be identical with the Na-khi Da-mä-gko, which means lamasery place — *Da-mä*, literally ground-mother; *gko*, inside; where all come together inside like flocking to a mother. Every large lamasery is called Da-mä-gko by the Na-khi. In the *Yün-nan T'ung-chih*, ch. 98, fol. 34a, it states that the Yung-ning Ssu is 308 li from the city of Yung-pei and three li north of Yung-ning fu (near the village of) Pi-ch'i-ts'un 必溪村. The *I-t'ung-chih* gives its name also as Pi-ch'i Ssu 必溪寺. Another name for the lamasery in Chinese is La-lo Fo-tien 判羅佛殿 (Buddhist Temple of La-lo). La-lo is a village immediately north of the lamasery. The temple was burnt during the Mohammedan rebellion (1855–1873) and afterwards rebuilt, some 65 years ago. The exact date of the founding of the lamasery is not known, but it must have been during the period of K'ang-hsi.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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represented sitting European fashion, with legs down and not crossed as is otherwise the case in images of Buddha. He is adorned like a prince and is always in the attitude of teaching the law. The Yung-ning image (PLATE 228) is three stories or about 30 feet high. It was constructed by Hsiang-ch'eng Tibetans and the interior of the image is filled with Tibetan Classics. The lamasery of Mu-li possesses an equally large image but of heavily gilt copper. Maitreya is considered to be of gigantic size, hence the monster statues erected of him. He is the Chinese Mi-le fo 彌勒佛.

The lama temple is surrounded by rows of small mud-brick houses, the homes of the lamas when in attendance, but usually empty. The entire compound is surrounded by a tamped earth wall with a west, east, and south gate. This wall was built since 1924 as a protection against the Gangkar-ling bandits who dwell to the north-west of Yung-ning, and who have invaded Yung-ning on several occasions for the purpose of looting and burning.

Morality. — The moral state of the Hli-khin population is certainly a peculiar one. The word father is unknown, and it is next to an insult to inquire of a Hli-khin boy as to the whereabouts of his father. They all say they have no father. They all possess an A-gv (maternal uncle); this may be the brother of their mother or their actual father, without their being certain who their father is. They know and acknowledge only an A-gv. This is brought about by the peculiar conditions prevailing among the lamas of Yung-ning. They do not live in the lamasery, but only come to it on important occasions, as at annual festivals, lama dances, etc., or when specially called together by the abbot, who is a son of the late T'u-ssu. At other times they live at their homes where there is no supervision, and as they are supposed to be celibates they do not marry. The result is a horde of illegitimate children who know no father. Furthermore, the reverse of Chinese marital relations prevail among the lay population. In Yung-ning it is the girl who remains in the home, and she takes unto herself a boy as husband whom she keeps as long as he works, and as long as she enjoys his presence. She can send him away at any time, and take unto herself another husband. Her brother, if she has one, may remain with her and he takes the place of the father, and it is he who is addressed as A-gv. The result of this promiscuous sexual intercourse is an enormous amount of syphilis and other venereal diseases. The moral standard of Yung-ning is thus anything but high. Suicide, so common among the Li-chiang Na-khi is, however, totally unknown among the Yung-ning people.[4] (PLATE 229).

2. FROM YUNG-NING TO FENG-K'O ON THE YANGTZE

Kublai Khan's camp. — From the Yung-ning Lamasery the road leads past the old school-house half-way between the monastery and the village of K'ai-chi to a famous and historic spot on the Hli gyi (K'ai-chi River). It is the Jih-yüeh-ho 日月和 (Union of Sun and Moon) (PLATE 212). In

[4] *See:* J. F. Rock, The Romance of K'a-mä-gyu-mi-gkyi in *B.E.F.E.-O.* T. XXXIX, 1939, pp. 1–152.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
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CHAPTER V

The Yung-ning Plain

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The Yung-ning plain (Hli-dü, which the natives pronounce more like Hli-di and the Na-khi of Li-chiang call Lü-dü) comprises an area of about 100 square li and is the most important part of the entire Yung-ning territory. The Hli dji (waters of Hli) traverses it in great curves and in wintertime it is the home of many thousands of ducks, cranes and herons. The cranes come from the Koko Nor, where they breed, to winter in the south.[1] A better place for duck-shooting is difficult to imagine. Less than half of the plain is cultivated and the peasants are strictly prohibited by their chiefs from growing rice. If rice were grown the plain could support three times the population it supports to-day.

1. VILLAGES ROUND THE LAMASERY

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The Yung-ning Lamasery is the most important establishment and is situated on the western end of the plain, 10 li from the foot of Lion Mountain (Senge-ge ga-mu). Several villages cluster around the lamasery, of which the most important one is Boa-ts'o-gkv, (Place where the Hsi-fan [Boa] danced), pronounced by the Yung-ning people Ba-tso-gu. It is mostly inhabited by Li-chiang Na-khi and is also called P'i-chiang-ts'un 皮匠村 (Tanners' village). It is a nondescript conglomeration of miserable houses, the street an impassable quagmire covered with green scum. No improvements are permitted by the rulers of Yung-ning for fear of attracting outside settlers. In the middle of the road are the steaming-vats, where the people cure ox hides and deerskins. This village is immediately beyond the white Chhorten (mchhod-rten) (lama reliquary monument) and the little stone bridge. Here also Li-chiang Na-khi shoemakers ply their trade, making genuine Na-khi shoes, both of cow and Shan-lü 山羔 or serow hide, the latter a species of Capricornis.[2] They also make tall Tibetan boots, supply-

ST [282] ST 295

[1] Of the cranes which inhabit the Yung-ning plain and marshes the most common is *Grus nigricollis* (black-neck) the Gko of the Na-khi. This species breeds in the Koko Nor of north-east Tibet, and winters in Yün-nan. It was first described by the Russian traveller PRZEWALSKI from north-east Tibet, where I also collected it, and where its breeding-places were observed by me. Of the stork family, *Ciconia nigra* is often found in pairs in the flooded fields, while ducks such *Anas crecca*, *Anas platyrhyncha*, and *Anas nyroca* are found on the banks of the Hli dji as well as on the Yung-ning Lake. On the lake disport themselves the famous divers with lobate toes which the Na-khi call Dsu or Gvi-dsu. Two species are found. *Proctopus nigricollis* with black necks, and the North China species *Poliocephalus ruficollis poggei*, collected first in the province of Ho-pei. Other water-birds common in Yung-ning in the winter are *Mergus merganser orientalis* (the Nda-lä-lä of the Na-khi). *Casarca ferruginea*, the sheldrake (called Mba-shi-mba-lü-me by the Na-khi), *Niroca fuligula*, *Niroca niroca* and others.

[2] The species found on the Li-chiang snow range and north to Mu-li as on Mt. Ki-bo is *Capricornis sumatraensis milne-edwardsii* David. It is known to the Na-khi, as Yi; in their books the female is called Yi-mä mbu-här (Female serow with the blue mane).

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China
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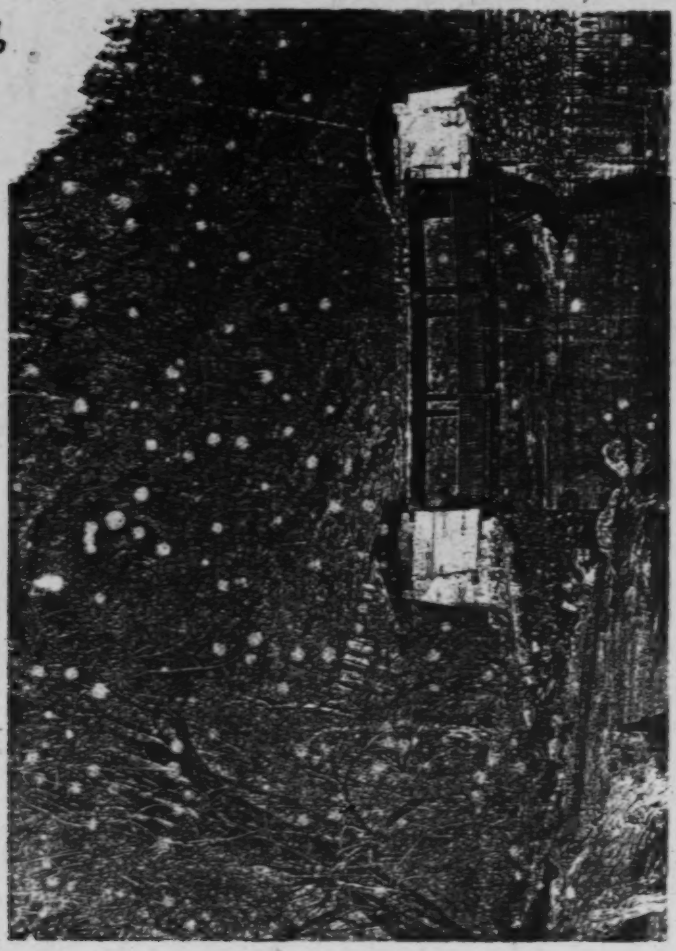

(Courtesy Nat. Geogr. Soc.)

PLATE 410.—TIBETAN WOODEN BRIDGE OVER THE YOK-DEK-KHÂ

竹巴河竹橋木橋

This type of bridge is common in the Tibetan part of the Yangtse drainage basin.

[p. 410 B]

5: Davies G-5 (1894-1900) 1909 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

CHAPTER XXXI

MI-LI, THE LAND OF THE YELLOW LAMA.

The San-ko-ya monastery—The eastern Tibetan—A tall straight-featured race—The Ya-lung again—Suspicious ferrymen—Our useless appeal to the lamas—Further negotiations—My interpreter wins the day with threats—We cross the river—Pê-tiao—Attempts to mislead us—A friendly monastery—Camp in the forest—Gold mining—Magnificent peaks—K'u-lu—Yaks—A cold night—Suspicious lamas—"Have you not come to dig for gold?"—The Chinese rank of the K'u-lu lama—A hospitable family—The reasons for Tibetan suspiciousness—An obstructive guide—We reduce him to reason—Interview with a lama—His objections overcome by the passport—The Mi-li river—A steep climb—Reach Mi-li after dark—A large monastery—Well-built houses—Tibetan and Chinese houses compared—Mr Amundsen's visit to Mi-li—The Mi-li prime minister—Present him with salad oil—Chinese traders—Gold washing—Extreme protectionist measures.

WE had now been for four days within the boundaries of Huang La-ma Ti-fang, "the land of the yellow lama," as the Chinese often call the kingdom of Mi-li; but as yet we had seen no lamas and had not encountered the opposition from the Mi-li king which had been prophesied for us by the Chinese. The next day, however, this peaceful state of things was to come to an end, and we were to have our first experience of that suspicion and obstruction which, when continued day after day, are so wearing to the traveller in Tibetan countries.

Leaving Mo-lien we crossed the top of a ridge and began a long steep descent to the Ya-lung. A little way down from the top we came to San-ko-ya our first Tibetan monastery, a two-storied building of whitewashed stones, built all round a courtyard. Two of the lamas were sitting outside, and as they understood a little Chinese, we had some conversation.

These Tibetans are very different from the Hsi-fans, and are, I think, also fairer in complexion than and superior